



Indonesian Nationalism in Natuna Border: Impact of South Chinese Marine Conflict on Indonesian Nationalism Values in Natuna Border Areas

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Abstract

The development in the Natuna border area is carried out to build a more peaceful, minimal conflict and conducive environment around the South China Sea. One of Indonesia's programs related to the South China Sea is the development of maritime power in the Natuna Border region. Indonesia affirmed its position to maintain the stability of the Natuna border region through strengthening the values of Indonesian nationalism on Natuna Island in the midst of a growing flow of conflict in the South China Sea. The results of the study found that: (1) the Indonesian paradigm in seeing the South China Sea conflict was understood through observing and strengthening social, economic and security structures on the Natuna border, (2) the values of Indonesian nationalism on the Natuna border after the South China Sea conflict persisted strong and increasing, and (3) Indonesia has a very significant role in maintaining the values of nationalism for Indonesian citizens in the Natuna Border and surrounding areas through strategic efforts in the form of regular visits and the provision of socialization of the state's sustainable values by the institution authorities and academics who are experts in the field concerned. The values of national defense and nationalism are the foundation and fortress of defense in the Natuna border region.

Keywords: Nationalism; State-Defending; State-Border; State-Border; Natuna; South China Sea

Introduction

Development in the maritime sector is carried out to create a more peaceful and conducive environment in the South China Sea (LCS). Development programs especially in the maritime sector have been carried out by Indonesia, China and countries in the Southeast Asia, the Pacific and the South. However, these programs seem to be more directed at the context of high politics, so that no matter how well the program being launched still faces obstacles. One of Indonesia's programs related to the South China Sea is the development of maritime power in the Natuna Border region. The Natuna region is the closest to the development in the South China Sea. However, the development around this area is directly aligned with the domination of the islands by many countries including Britain, France, Japan, China, Vietnam, which then involved Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines and Taiwan as well as Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Natuna Islands which are part of the Riau Islands Province located in the middle of the

South China Sea are the main reason why Indonesia and China hold very intense cooperation in the South China Sea.¹

Development is carried out to maintain stability in the Natuna border region, therefore Indonesia intensively visits the region. One of them was a cabinet meeting led by President Joko Widodo on KRI Imam Bonjol-383 in Natuna waters, Riau Islands. In addition, Minister of National Development Planning / Head of the Development Planning Agency (Menteri Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional / Kepala Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan or Bappenas), Sofyan Djalil has declared Natuna as the main development area for the leading islands in Indonesia. Adapaun, development of the area in Natuna, focuses on the energy sector. There are 16 oil and gas blocks in the region. In addition, there will be a lot of infrastructure built, such as electricity, roads, fishing ports, airports, and the addition of sea transportation traffic.²

However, development in the Natuna region will not run optimally if it is only carried out by the Indonesian side. This is due to the many actors involved in the South Cia Sea region. Thus, the tension in the South China Sea continues to expand with the emergence of tension in the waters of Natuna Island by declaring Indonesia as part of its main actor. Indonesia's tensions over China in Natuna waters have increased since 2009. China has included a portion of Natuna waters in the South China Sea into its territorial map known as the 'nine-dashed line'. The line is the demarcation line or dividing line used by the government of the People's Republic of China to claim a large part of the South China Sea region which is a dispute in a number of countries in Asia. For Indonesia, the presence of China in the South China Sea grazing into the Natuna region is a phenomenon that must be seen from many sides. The positive side is that the presence of China can add economic value if the two countries can contribute to the development of Natuna, on the contrary it will be negative if China expands the area of influence that Indonesia actually does not want it at the area of conflict. The control of the South China Sea region has a direct impact on Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia. Economic dependence among ASEAN countries will be disrupted by disputes in the South China Sea. The conflict that occurred could lead to an increase in world crude oil prices that had an effect on the Indonesian National Budget, as well as the future of Indonesian nationalism on Natuna Island. Thus, this study tries to explore the development of conflict in the South China Sea in the waters of Natuna Island and analyze its impact on Indonesian nationalism on Natuna Island which is directly adjacent to the South China Sea region.

Natuna Regency, part of the Riau Islands Province, which is located in the middle of the South China Sea, is a source of conflict over the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. The issue emerged since 2009, and heated up after President Joko Widodo criticized the map of the People's Republic of China which included the natural gas-rich region in his territory. The broken line claimed by China as a renewal line on the 1947 map made Indonesia angry. Even though Indonesia is actually planning to be the mediator of conflict countries in the South China Sea. The Indonesian government in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has protested through the UN Continental Shelf Commission. However, over the past five years, the UN has not taken a position on protests from the Indonesian government. After President Joko Widodo came to power, he wanted to assert his attitude towards Natuna island, and even harder than the actions who has had by the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The tension in Natuna is getting tense. Since the incident of the Chinese flagged Kway Fey Motorboat when carrying out fishing activities in Natuna waters at the beginning of 2016. The incident led to official protests from the Indonesian government because of the efforts to be carried out by the KKP team obstructed by patrol

¹ Karishma Vaswani, 2014, "The Sleepy Island Indonesia Is Guarding From China", BBC News, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29655874> (January 4, 2018, 10.00 PM).

² Kompas, 2016, "Pemerintah Intensifkan Pembangunan Kawasan Natuna", <http://bisniskeuangan.kompas.com/read/2016/06/25/050500126/Pemerintah.Intensifkan.Pembangunan.Kawasan.Natuna.pada.Minggu>, (April 9, 2018, 10.00 PM)

boats belonging to the sea security agency China. The Chinese Navy's coast guard ship desperately broke through the border. Not only that, they also hit and forcibly dragged ships that had just been captured by a joint operation of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries together with the Indonesian Navy (TNI AL). As a result, tensions between Indonesia and China intensified. Therefore this study wants to explore further how the development of Indonesian nationalism on Natuna Island in the midst of a growing flow of conflict in the South China Sea.

Based on the background above, this study raises three research questions, namely: (1) how Indonesia's attitude in seeing conflict in the South China Sea is related to social stability, economics, and regional security in areas on Indonesia's leading islands, (2) how Indonesian nationalism on the border of Natuna Island has post-heated conflict between Indonesia and China in the waters of the Natuna Islands which are part of the South China Sea conflict, (3) What efforts can be made by Indonesia to safeguard the values of Indonesian nationalism for citizens Indonesia which inhabits the area on the border of Natuna Island and its surroundings.

Nationalism and Defense: Indonesia Responds to the South China Sea Conflict

The discussion of the South China Sea is much debated by International Relations Scientists. This debate includes the relationship of sovereignty of the territory that borders on conflict areas. According to Tirtosudarmo, understanding nationalism in border areas is a state's obligation. National borders divide different ethnicities. Lopian and Ulaen that national borders do not always follow the dividing line between cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national or economic units. They are agree that sometimes a border was created by a stated without thinking the functional of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national or economic units wich the states has before.³⁴

An understanding of nationalism is interpreted in the perspective of social psychology, namely the attachment to national groups which consists of feelings of love and pride in the country; and the Coenders view that their country is stronger than other countries. Regarding this, Adorno considers that nationalism can be divided into patriotism and pseudo-patriotism. In this case, we find that the definition of Nationalism is "the blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing ways, and the rejection of nations as out-groups".⁵

The concept of nationalism in this study, understood theoretically as knowledge, feelings, and social practices love the homeland, includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects. The cognitive aspect is knowledge about Indonesia as a country that has geographical and political boundaries. Affective aspects are feelings as citizens of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the aspect of behavior is the practice of instilling a sense of nationalism carried out by the state. In this study, nationalism defined by the state can be seen in the knowledge, feelings, and practices of maintaining Indonesian nationalism in the border region of the Natuda island .

Posmodernism: Model of Cooperation among States in the South China Sea

The South China Sea conflict can be understood through several major approaches, namely realism, pluralism, and globalism, and postmodernism. Every approach are having their own way in explaining the situation in the South China Sea conflict. From the first approach, through the realism approach, it can be

³ Lopian, A. B. (2009). Orang laut, bajak laut, raja laut. Sejarah kawasan Laut Sulawesi abad XIX. Komunitas Bambu. Jakarta: EFEQ, KITLV, ANRI, UGM, dan UNPAD.

⁴ Ulaen, A.J., Wulandari, T. & Tangkilisan, Y.B.T. (2012). Sejarah wilayah perbatasan MiangasFilipina 1928–2010; Dua Nama Satu Juragan. Jakarta: Gramata Publishing, pg. 61.

⁵ Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J. & Sanford, R. N. (1969). The authoritarian personality. New York: **W.W. Norton Company**.

explained that the power contestation in seeking the balance of power is always done by generating a single state actor through inter-state conflict, while pluralism considers the single actor of the state as an unnecessary condition even though he is a rational actor. Meanwhile, the effect of globalism encourages pluralism to become an active pattern of diversity which create a kind of interaction among the actors of conflict, so that, we can conclude that the state becomes a transactional component and has an strategic impact on global.

Postmodernism approach, this research will explore aspects of the formation of truth, namely an error or an untruth which later transforms into truth through a long historical process. In its journey, what is considered as this truth is inserted by the values of power, interests, which by genealogical aspects are viewed more deeply. Genealogy is a “origin” of history that can track how knowledge develops from the past to the present, how a power can influence the development of a science. Postmodernism recognizes that power is capable of producing knowledge. The hegemony of a country can form a perspective which ultimately forms a science. Knowledge will be more inclined towards exposure of facts than someone who has that power. Reconstruction between science and power is needed. Construction is the main thing that shapes one's views and perspectives. This is analogous to that in a text, the facts presented in a text are not absolute things, there are still other truths that might not be included in the text due to the perceptions of each individual. Each text is also related to each other. As a result, the truth values presented in a text can be multi-interpretations so that it requires deconstruction and multiple readings to review the facts written in the text. There is a regime of truth that has the power to create truth (knowledge) or produce discourse (discourse).

We cannot define who makes or gives claims of universality as a truth claim, but in this case, the discourse of claims against various Islands is spartly and paracel as something that seems to be true or something “sacred”. Though each claim is created by each State to fulfill its interests. As Foucault believes, some groups have the power to make claims in the name of “all humanity”. And emphasizes the positive side of “otherness” that respects differences in human experience and the diversity of differences that exist between one person and another. Here China looks at the origins of history and tries to dismantle the truth or deconstruct the claiming of the southern Chinese sea. The issue of interstate disputes in the region is closely related to the aspects of the “national interest” in realizing the desire to maintain of influence and guarantee of shipping safety as a result of strategic and vital positions in the South China Sea region. Overlapping territorial claims over the South China Sea are not a new case. Traditionally, China including Taiwan and Vietnam have affirmed their ownership of the entire Spratly archipelago and the existing resources in the region in turn. In subsequent developments the Philippines and Malaysia also claimed part of the island in the Spratly region, while Brunei Darussalam claimed Louise Reef, a coral cluster located outside the Spratly group. In the case of multilateral claims, often the problems of the claims of the PRC, Taiwan and Vietnam are discussed into one because it is closely related to one another, due to historical developments, for example between the PRC and Taiwan, South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Vietnam after unification. This fact shows that there are competing perspectives and “truth regimes” that compete with each other. This can be said to be in line with the views of postmodernists who say that there is no “truth” that there are only “truth regimes” that compete with each other in order to win a growing discourse.

The explanation above gives an indication that can be said to have similarities with what is meant by postmodernism that there is no single characteristic, which is only a historical manifestation of a number of conflicting interpretations, where unity and identity are the result of the victory of this conflict. Each warring party seeks to win a discourse for an influence of power over the general perception and understanding in society, of claiming the southern Chinese sea. The existence of Claims text (language) states that as if the area belongs to each country, namely China considers the sea with the South Sea, Vietnam as Bien Dong (East Sea), the Philippines as Dagat Luzon (Luzon Sea), and Shinnenggunto by Taiwan, further strengthens the influence of postmodernism, namely the power of each country in

knowledge in its territory to construct a view of truth over the South China Sea. In this situation, Indonesia and China have different ways of looking at the distribution of power around the South China Sea and border areas. The existence of armed conflict in Paracel and Spratly over the seizure of the region which was sharpened by the existence of claims confirmed through the actions of military occupation by a number of countries involved in it, further clarified an emphasis on the postmodernist view of violence. According to postmodernism, violence is something that is strengthened and increased, Nietzsche states that "unification of people who are not limited and formless into a standard form is not only done by violence but also provides a conclusion that there is nothing but acts of violence". As well as the role of violence is associated in the formation and re-establishment of a country in this case the South China Sea, very much related to the making of the boundaries of the country.

From the analysis of other postmodernism, it can be related to the Foucault theory which argues that there is no form of knowledge that is truly pure. All knowledge of the world is built from a certain angle. The dialogue project to reach agreement will only replace the hegemony of one to orthodox with the other. We cannot be free from important relations of knowledge and power. The conflict can also be seen that there is intervention from America to some of its allies such as Vietnam and the Philippines, which further complicates the atmosphere. Therefore, outside intervention is likely to only increase the escalation of existing conflicts and will further worsen the atmosphere of the conflict, even though the form of intervention it has a side that they mean by peace, but on the other hand it becomes a means of establishing their power over an entity and the community. In fact, postmodernism wants independence from every community to choose concepts of life in accordance with cultural and historical settings. Claims of truth or regime, claims the text, even the history of the southern China Sea is an analysis of postmodernism which is seen in terms of the State or in a large discourse, but there are several things that need to be considered from other aspects, namely we also need to analyze small narratives in it pay attention from the humanitarian side, namely the population involved in the conflict in the southern China sea, namely the people who belong to or occupy the area and take advantage of the area, so as to represent their wishes and state that their interests need to be heard to find the best solution from the conflict of the South China Sea.

Indonesia's paradigm in seeing the South China Sea conflict: Social, economic and security structures on the Natuna border

Indonesia legally and politically has better control in maintaining the values of nationalism at the Natuna border with regard to the dynamics of the conflict in the South China Sea. Control of legal and political power is Indonesia's strength in maintaining social, economic and national security stability in the Natuna border region. The paradigm of Indonesia as a Kepulauan country makes it more flexible in controlling all activities related to national stability in border areas, and requires a good control system from various sectors when conflicts occur in the Indonesian border region regarding the South China Sea. The South China Sea conflict is part of maritime conflict in the Asian region. Indonesia as a maritime country must be able to understand this situation in accordance with the values of the diplomatic struggle contained in the vision of the World Maritime Axis. The control of the South China Sea conflict by Indonesia was carried out with the aim of safeguarding the values of Indonesian nationalism for Indonesian citizens who had lived long on the Natuna border. Conflict and control over the South China Sea region is critical to strengthen China's influence in the Southeast Asia region and to form a sea and air rejection zone so that the ability of the opponent's strength can be captured within a certain period of time in mainland China. The division of territories in the disputes of islands in the South China Sea region is known as two islands chains. The first island chain is an endless line connecting the Kuril islands, Japan and the Ryukyu islands, Taiwan and Indonesia (Kalimantan Island to the Natuna Islands). Geographically, the South China Sea is part of the first chains that are very strategic for China.

In addition, Indonesia has its own reasons why disputes in the South China Sea regarding the seizure of the Spratly Islands which have an effect on the Natuna Islands must be resolved. The reason is to secure economic interests. Security and order in the South China Sea will secure trade and natural exploration activities carried out by Indonesia in a very strategic marine area. Another point of interest is the withdrawal of the border line around the Natuna Sea which is rich in natural gas and in the South China region. China continues to claim that it is the owner of the South China Sea region and the surrounding island of Sumatra with the submission of the 1947 map base which in its claim interrupted Indonesia's EEZ. With the emergence of the South China Sea conflict, it is necessary to explore the social, economic and security situation of the region on the Natuna border. By understanding this, at least the values of nationalism that have been held by the people on the Natuna border can be understood more deeply. In addition, social, economic and security stability are indicators in maintaining the values of Indonesian nationalism on the Natuna border.

Based on our interview with the Sociology Laboratory of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Raja Ali Haji Maritime University, there are several indicators in understanding the social, economic and security situation of the region on the Natuna border which is also embedded in the document "*Stakeholder and Social Mapping of Premier Oil Natuna Sea B.V. (PONSBV) 2017*"⁶, namely: In addition to the dynamic relationship between stakeholders and PONSbv, there are several strategic issues in the field of study. In the short and medium term, this problem will affect the PONSbv both directly and indirectly. The strategic problem is: (1) the implementations of Act no.23 year 2014 on Local Government, where part of district government matters become the matters of Provincial and Central Government,(2)Village autonomy,wherein 2016 Anambas island manages APBDes of Rp 1.374.650.282,- and in 2017 the APBDes is Rp 1.604.487.238,-. In Natuna in 2016 the APBDes Rp 2.008.523.100,- and in 2017 the APBDes Rp 1.969.609.322,- , (3) district division, on April 2017 the governor of the Riau Islands Province divide three new districts in Anambas Island. The Draft of the new Act on this new districts still on the subject of discussion in the parliament, (4) Since the local government could not find any alternatives for income, the budget of Anambas Island district is lower than before. According to local media and public opinion the budget reduction caused by the reduction of revenue from oil and gas, (5) Grants and social funds became political tools, it means that these two sources of funds had not been maximized for people empowerment. On the other hand, high dependency on funds makes the community, especially in Palmatak, depended on funds from the company, (6) Militarization in Anambas and Natuna, in accordance to Nawacita the development of border areas is a balance between security and prosperity, (7) The 1.900 part-time employee within the office of Anambas Island district government, become the burden of the district government. One issue is the putting the burden on the government budget over their salary. Some of them even feared of facing layoffs. Secondly, the dependency of the locals who hold a university degree to work as a parttime government employee, there were about 300 people apply for these positions. The competition to get employment is high. It's possibilities that companies in Anambas Island would be forced to employ them.

PONSbv has a village government priority program which is training Kader Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa (KPMd).⁷ PONSbv contributes to empowering rural communities with village government by using APBD, and make social investments with KPMd. PONSbv enhances its position in the mass media and through public opinion, especially on problem management, which will secure PONSbv operations related to development programs in the area in question.

⁶ Laboratorium Sosiologi Faklutas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji, "*Stakeholder and Social Mapping of Premier Oil Natuna Sea B.V. (PONSbv) 2017*", pg. vi.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pg. vii

The values of nationalism in the South China Sea conflict: Indonesian nationalism on the Natuna border after the heat of the conflict in the South China Sea

President Joko Widodo stated that he would make Indonesia a global maritime axis, at that time the concept of an archipelago or archipelago returned to air. The Indonesian state was again awakened by its identity as a maritime country, a group of islands stretching from Sabang to Merauke, a high seas that united thousands of islands, to its natural marine resources which could no longer be avoided. The marine ethos is immediately inherent in the Indonesian people. The sea is identical with its vastness that can accommodate all types and sizes. So is Indonesia, the breadth and variety of customs and tribes.⁸

The Riau Islands is one of the regions of Indonesia that reflects Indonesia as an archipelago consisting of 5 large island fractions namely Bintan, Batam, Lingga, Karimun and Natuna and other small islands. Kepri was born as a province in 2002, after the tragedy of the declaration "Marwah Day" ended. Kepri chose to separate from Riau Province because he believed that with its own regional autonomy, Riau Islands would be able to maximize its potential, especially its maritime potential. Geographically, Riau Islands is a border region with several countries that are a prerequisite for potential conflict. North of the South China Sea, in the east with Malaysia while the west with Singapore and Malaysia. Although Kepri is part of Indonesia's territory, its geographical position makes Kepri seem to be under many flags. This is a separate threat to security or security and state sovereignty. Still about the boundaries of the Riau Islands region, there are many small islands in the Riau Islands which are close to neighboring countries. Just mention the area of Nipah Island which is directly on the border with Singapore. The sea border between Indonesia and Singapore is based on a date agreement 25 May 1973 (UU No. 7 Year 1973)⁹, Sekatung Island is also located in the northern part of the Natuna Islands directly adjacent to Vietnam and the island named Senua which is the boundary and becomes an important point to determine the territorial and sovereignty of Indonesia in the waters north of Riau Islands province due to the northeast it borders the Philippines and east with Malaysia.

Geographical proximity makes people have emotional closeness with neighboring countries, more attention to some of the outer regions of Riau Islands by providing assistance that is indeed useful for the progress of the people of the area. For example, assistance from one Malaysian company engaged in telecommunications underwater networks, Sacofa Sdn Bhd, in the form of 30 communication radios delivered to fishermen in Natuna Regency. This assistance is more precisely given to fishermen in Bunguran Selatan District, through free CSR funds. This is certainly welcomed by the Natuna Regency Government and even the Government hopes that there will be assistance in the form of other facilities and infrastructure besides this. Not only that, Malaysia also provided other assistance to the people of Natuna Regency such as groceries to elderly parents (elderly) and sick people in Sepempang Village as a form of concern for Sepempang residents. The funding for this package is donated by Malaysian donors and entrusts it to the Sepempang Karang Taruna community to distribute it to those entitled to receive it. Malaysia is always trying to get closer to the border community, especially the Natuna region. The next question that arises is why Malaysia does that. This was answered by one of the articles written by two Malaysian lecturers, Mohd Hazmi Mohd. Rusli and Wan Izatul Asma Wan Talaat. Geographically, Natuna is in the middle of Malaysia, but why Natuna is under Indonesian sovereignty.¹⁰

They argue that Natuna is actually part of Malaysia. Several reasons were raised to strengthen this argument, including: (1) Natuna is an island geographically located in the middle and separates

⁸ Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna : Historitas, Rasionalitas, Aktualitas Pancasila*. 2002. Jakarta : PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama. pg. 2

⁹ Nurmandi, Achmad dan Trisno Aji Putra, Nikolas Panama Menjaga Indonesia dari Kepri: Peluang, Tantangan, & Proil 19 Pulau Terdepan Indonesia di Kepulauan Riau. 2012. Badan Pengelola Perbatasan Provinsi Kepri : Kepulauan Riau. Pg. 25

¹⁰ Mohd Hazmi Mohd. Rusli, Ph.D and Wan Izatul Asma Wan Talaat, Ph.D. (www.mstar.com.my)

Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah and Sarawak Malaysia, (2) Approximately 85% of the population of this Island is of Malay descent, and (3) The language used is also a Malay language with Terengganu dialect and Islam is the main religion of the Regency's population.

In the theory of state, the state will always compete to maintain the security of resources and power. It is the nature of the international system that encourages the state to recognize sovereignty as a way to survive. That is, the state is responsible for the sovereignty and security of its own country. Therefore, sovereignty requires the state to decide for itself how the state protects itself from internal and external threats. External threats certainly come from other countries, which in this case are none other than neighboring border countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and others. Concern about the separation of the Riau Islands, especially Natuna and preferring to join a country that "looks" more concerned than its own country, is a scary specter for Indonesia. Especially with the dogma that Indonesia and neighboring countries have a history of the same family, namely Malay. On the one hand, we must acknowledge this, but on the other hand, this will be at the root of the threat of Indonesian sovereignty if viewed from a social perspective. Whereas internal factors, as mentioned in the previous discussion, border communities tend to have emotional closeness because of historical factors and the geographical proximity that binds them. The intensity of interaction can also be more with foreign citizens than with other regions in Indonesia so that geographical boundaries look so pseudo and abstract. Often this is used as an excuse to accept all forms of foreign assistance by border communities. The nationalism issue finally emerged as Indonesia's challenge to improve it. No doubt the Government and all levels of society always try to overcome this.

The unity and unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is something that must be fought for. Survive or survivors are the motive of defending the sovereignty of this country. Many things can be done by the community, especially Indonesian youth, as social control to maintain the sovereignty of the country by instilling maritime nationalism in each individual. Why maritime nationalism? Because basically the nationalism of the Capital City and the border area is very different, seen from the region and its history. Then it is necessary to adjust the taste of the Riau Islands nationalism with its characteristics of maritime and sovereignty. History that affects people's behavior is also different. In the past, border communities were used to interacting with neighboring countries so that nationalism in this border area was not "chauvinism". The planting of maritime nationalism in every youth is one way for Indonesia to remain sovereign. The meaning of maritime nationalism itself is the notion or doctrine of loving one's own nation and state or awareness of membership in a nation that potentially or actually together reaches, maintains, and perpetuates the identity, prosperity, integrity and strength of the nation towards the realization of strategic power at sea which is supported by maritime power, both the trading fleet, the war fleet, the maritime industry and the maritime-based state development policy.

Maritime nationalism is considered more appropriate if applied in the Riau Islands region because it is in accordance with the region and its potential. Knowledge-based nationalism on the sea and sea boundaries will strengthen the character of Indonesian youth so that they are ready to face various kinds of problems that are disruptive to the country's sovereignty. In the opinion of the author, there are two ways to instill maritime nationalism in the minds of Indonesian youth, first through formal and non-formal education. For formal schools, the government actually has to be involved in this, especially in its application in the school education curriculum. For example, maritime nationalism in the Hang Tuah high school / vocational education curriculum where in the learning system, this school is sufficient to emphasize maritime nationalism subjects, starting from Indonesia's marine history to its boundaries and natural wealth potential, generally marine throughout Indonesia and especially the Islands Riau. It is good for this to be replicated by all schools in Riau Islands so that students and young people can get to know Indonesia's marine wealth through early education. The non-formal education can pass training, seminars, training or so on. A seminar on maritime nationalism can also be held by youth for the community so that all people know the boundaries of Indonesia with other countries, starting from the sea, land and air

boundaries that have been maintained by Indonesian heroes. Besides that, it also provides an understanding of how the wealth of Indonesia's sea is something that need not be doubted and the role of the border community is very significant in safeguarding Indonesia's sovereignty and unity. The second way is through social fields. After non-formal education is obtained, then the next task of the youth is to control the social. That is, young people have an obligation to understand the border communities in the Riau Islands through social interaction that even though Indonesia has a history similar to that of neighboring countries, Indonesia remains a single entity. History has also written that Indonesia has become a stand-alone country. Likewise Malaysia and other neighboring countries.

In addition to youth, the government should also be able to pay more attention to the welfare of border communities because this region is the face of the Indonesian state in the presence of neighboring countries. Efforts can be made with the construction of infrastructure that supports marine activities such as adding ships to fishermen and others. So that the border communities of Riau Islands can improve the standard of living. The solution cannot be realized without the cooperation of youth and the government and all elements of the Riau Islands border community. Maritime nationalism must continue to be improved through formal and non-formal education and through social interaction. So that maritime nationalism can be held by the people of Riau Islands.

Indonesia's role in maintaining nationalism values for Indonesian citizens in the Natuna Border and its surroundings

Indonesia's role in safeguarding nationalism values for Indonesian citizens in the Natuna Border and surrounding areas can be done in a balanced way between the central government and local governments, where the central and regional governments have the same way of looking at the situation on the Natuna border. Therefore, Indonesia established a collaboration agreement agreed in many fields of research, including research on biodiversity as the conflict in the Natuna border region.¹¹ In this project, Indonesia holds control as a leader and communicates the results of dialogues to the international community, regional and international organizations to gain support in implementing this collaborative project. Preventive diplomacy mechanisms have a significant influence in resolving conflict peacefully. Various parties claim that confrontation based on military power can threaten the stability of peace in both the regional and international regions. Discussions conducted with mediators are the Indonesian state accompanied by efforts to sit together at the ASEAN forum. Countries that claim to try to refrain from engaging in occupational actions, thus the aim of the appointment of Indonesia is by carrying out its roles of preventing countries in dispute (in this case China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines and Taiwan) experiencing armed conflict, fostering bilateral and regional cooperation that enables territorial sovereignty issues that can strengthen diplomatic relations within the regional framework to create regional stability so that these issues can be raised at the ARF forum which eventually creates a code of conduct between countries that disputes so that norms are formed which are intended to manage collaborative efforts carried out from one country to another in dispute. From 2002 to 2009, the handling of the issue of the South China Sea did not seem to get interference from external parties.

This may be because during this time the situation in the South China Sea as a whole can be said to be relatively stable so that parties not directly involved in the dispute do not feel the need to intervene. But since 2009, external parties seem to have tried harder to deal with security conflicts in the South China Sea. It can also be said that the involvement of these external parties has put pressure on the parties to the dispute to accelerate the implementation of the contents of the DOC document. Based on the DOC process, it seems reasonable to conclude that the COC completion process will not run easily. It will be

¹¹ Opcit. Laboratorium Sosiologi Faklutas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Maritim Raja Ali Haji, "Stakeholder and Social Mapping of Premier Oil Natuna Sea B.V. (PONSBV) 2017, pg. vi.

very possible to have tough negotiations in the process of drafting the COC. There are also a number of reasons to believe that a COC document might not be enough to safeguard and guarantee peace and stability in the South China Sea, or even to resolve conflicts in the South China Sea. Disputing parties, after decades, have developed or agreed publicly on a number of principles and norms to overcome conflicts in the South China Sea. These principles are clearly outlined in the DOC document and in other documents produced through ASEAN-China negotiations.

All parties to the dispute have agreed on the principle of resolving conflict through peaceful means. They have agreed to comply with UNCLOS and other relevant international laws in dealing with and resolving the South China Sea conflict. They agreed to use the approach bilaterally if the disputed area only involved two countries; and using a multilateral approach if the disputed area involves more than two countries. Apart from small conflicts and quarrels that often occur, the parties to the dispute seem to really intend to cooperate in resolving the South China Sea conflict. For the sake of long-term peace and stability in the South China Sea, it is very important for COC documents to ensure that the disputing parties will comply with the contents of the COC document, promote efforts to build mutual trust, and carry out collaborative activities in an insensitive work environment. In order for COC documents to be effective, the weaknesses of the DOC document and a number of factors that have delayed the implementation of the DOC must be overcome.

Conclusion

Development in the Natuna border region is carried out to create a more peaceful and conducive environment in the border region around the South China Sea. Development programs especially in the maritime sector have been carried out by Indonesia, China, and countries in the region. One of Indonesia's programs related to the South China Sea is the development of maritime power in the Natuna Border region. Natuna Regency is part of the Riau Islands Province, located in the middle of the South China Sea, which is part of the conflict area. In the President Joko Widodo's Period, Indonesia affirmed its attitude towards Natuna. Thus, this study explores further the development of Indonesian nationalism values on Natuna Island in the midst of a growing flow of conflict in the South China Sea. This study found that: (1) Indonesia's paradigm in seeing the South China Sea conflict was understood through observing and strengthening social, economic and security structures on the Natuna border, (2) the values of Indonesian nationalism on the Natuna border after the South China Sea conflict persisted, and strong and increasing, and (3) Indonesia has a very significant role in maintaining the values of nationalism for Indonesian citizens in the Natuna Border and surrounding areas through strategic efforts in the form of regular visits and provision of socialization of the values of the State's defense in a sustainable manner authorities and academics who are experts in the field concerned. Bearing in mind the importance of state defense values and Indonesian nationalism on the Natuna border, the need for development continues to safeguard and strengthen the strategic values in the field of defense and defense which have a positive effect on the binding of Indonesian nationalism values in Indonesia's border regions.

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